Social Progress

Mid-century Notes on Labor . . . . . CAMERON P. HALL

American Labor and International Affairs . JOHN F. DUFFY, JR.

SEPTEMBER 1949

Vol. XL

Social Progress

No. 1

DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

PAUL NEWTON POLING, Secretary and Editor; MARGARET E. KUHN, Assistant Editor; CLIFFORD EARLE, Associate Secretary; FERN M. COLBORN, Assistant Secretary; and WILLIAM H. MCCONAGHY, Director, and JESSE BELMONT BARBER, Associate Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations.

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Articles represent the opinions of the authors, and not the official policy of the Division of Social Education and Action or the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Division of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Subscriptions, $1.00 a year; three years for $2.50. Single copy, 15 cents. Group rates on request.

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Labor Sunday Message, 1949

Approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and issued through the Department of the Church and Economic Life.

Requested to be read in the churches on Labor Sunday, September 4, 1949, or, if preferred, on September 11, 1949.

AMERICAN workers in factory, store, field, and office, with their families, compose most of the American nation and most of the Christian churches. Labor Day calls attention to their rights, responsibilities, and aspirations. We therefore call upon the churches to unite wholeheartedly in celebrating this Labor Sunday.

Everywhere workers are taking a larger part in the shaping of their own lives. They are assuming greater economic, social, and political responsibilities.

Workers want status. They want to feel that they are recognized as far more significant than the machines they operate and the materials they handle. They want to bring the democracy they hear so much about into their workaday world. American labor has made great strides toward this goal.

Workers want security. They want an end to the ups and downs of the business cycle. They want a cushion against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, and old age. Within recent years the justice of this demand has had increasing practical recognition.

Workers seek self-expression, both in their work and as citizens. This means wide participation for all in economic and political decisions. In America social changes over the years have resulted in gradual but significant progress, partly registered in social legislation.

A World in Ferment

The world is now in a ferment. Movements that were begun to free the people have been used later to enslave them. Other movements have effected profound social and economic changes without sacrificing civil and political liberties. We should take care not to resist change merely because it is change, nor to condemn that which exists merely because it is not as new as something that is proposed. The strength of democracy is its ability to reinterpret the old, to use the new, to make continuing adjustment between freedom and justice, between individual rights and social demands. We dare not ignore the just aspirations of all

people. We must strive to realize them within the framework of a Christian society.

The first step toward this end is to recognize the vast changes that have already occurred in our American life. We have shifted to a large extent from individualism to organization, from comparative self-sufficiency to far-reaching interdependence.

With business management this change has taken the form of building up greater corporations and financial groups, representing vast concentrations of economic power. Neither the individual worker nor even the local union can successfully deal with a multimillion-dollar corporation regarding terms of employment or conditions of work. On the part of labor the growth of industrial unions has been stimulated to balance these powerful concentrations.

How Will Labor Use Its Power?

The Church must never forsake its basic interest in individuals. Nevertheless, the times demand that it give increasing attention to group action, group morality, and group responsibility in our economic life. Men and women as objects of God's redeeming love are not means to be used by the powerful for selfish ends. They are neither slaves to be driven nor statistics to be manipulated. Each as a child of God is an end unto himself within God's purpose.

In America the churches are rightly concerned with the motivation and the social consequences of the increased concentration of corporate power; they face also the great question of the end for which organized labor will use its expanding power. Will it give Christian principles, including social responsibility, a first place in its program? Will the men who guide its affairs exercise Christian humility and justice in their use of power? Will they put the public interest above the special interests of the pressure groups they lead? The answers to these questions depend upon the religious and ethical values held by the people in the ranks and leadership of labor.

The values that Christianity puts first cannot be realized by preaching and the printed word alone. They can most effectively be caught from men who share the problems and strivings of those they would serve. Our churches seek both the organized and the unorganized workers in still larger numbers in their membership and leadership, while they likewise seek to achieve closer contact, understanding, and co-operation with all workers everywhere.

The Task Before Us

Such is the task to which we urge earnest dedication by our churches. This is a task that cannot be done only in the pulpit, in the sanctuary, or where people gather together for

prayer and worship. It must be taken also to wherever people live and work. The mission of the churches cannot be separated from the restless masses of humanity who seek justice and freedom.

We cannot escape from our increasing interdependence; rather, we must accept its responsibilities and meet its challenges. This means that Christians must be motivated by a purpose to help, never to dominate. Christians must seek a more intimate and sympathetic understanding of the conditions and just aspirations of all working groups in their communities; and then apply that understanding, rather than ill-informed prejudices, in their judgment as citizens on issues that involve labor's rights and responsibilities.

In a changing world, as Christians we not only welcome but seek actively to promote every advance in human relations toward social justice and human brotherhood under the Lordship of Christ and the love of God for all men.

How to Use the Labor Sunday Message

In the Church:

There are several effective ways of using the Labor Sunday Message in the local church:

1. Copies of the message may be mailed to members of the congregation with an accompanying letter from the pastor. Quantities may be ordered from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y., at a very nominal cost.
2. The message may be printed in the church paper, or excerpts from it may be published in the church bulletin on Labor Sunday.
3. The minister may read the message, or an abbreviated version of it, from the pulpit. His Labor Sunday sermon ought to be related to the message in a vital way.
4. The message can be presented and discussed in adult classes on Labor Sunday, or in the midweek service following Labor Day.

In the Community:

The Labor Sunday Message is well worth bringing to the attention of the entire community. Two ways of doing this are recommended:

1. A community-wide Labor Sunday vesper service may be arranged. The support and attendance of various civic, business, and labor groups should be solicited.
2. The message can be brought to the attention of editors of local newspapers and managers of local radio stations.

In Business and Labor Groups:

It is especially valuable to bring the Labor Sunday Message to the attention of labor and business groups in the community. Editors of labor papers should be visited, given the message, and urged to comment on it in appropriate editorials and news stories.

In one community the ministerial association arranged to have ministers attend various union meetings for the purpose of reading the message and answering questions about it.

MID-CENTURY NOTES ON LABOR RELATIONS

By CAMERON P. HALL, *Executive Secretary of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

As we face into the mid-century, what of organized labor? What of the churches and organized labor?

Organized labor is here to stay. It is deeply imbedded in the structure of prevailing industrial and legal relationships and practices. It is destined to grow. Only about one third of those who are eligible for membership are in unions today. Certainly the witness of the past would lead us to expect that a movement as close to the aspirations and needs of people as is the labor movement will continue to gain adherents.

The rise of organized labor has come largely through decades of sacrifice and struggle. It is true that in the struggle for recognition there have been excesses on the part of wage earners. But it is also true that when "the right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action" (as affirmed by the Federal Council of Churches in 1908) has been exercised by employees, it often met with opposition, or at times open hostility on the part of the community as well as of the employer.

It has recently been affirmed that "the churches have been right in giving encouragement to the development of the labor movement, both as an instrument for the securing of greater economic justice and as a source of both dignity and morale for the worker." (*From* Basic Christian Principles and Assumptions, *a statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, September, 1948.*) Organized labor, on the whole, fills a legitimate and constructive place in American life. Its goals of justice in income distribution, of fairness in working hours, of decency in working conditions have contributed to the American home. By participation through representatives of their own choosing in these and other matters, labor unions have strengthened the structure and invigorated the spirit of democracy.

An outstanding basis for confidence in the continued growth of constructive industrial relations is found in the shift from combative militancy to statesmanship on the part of both management and labor. The quality of labor union leader-

ship and membership compares favorably with any other group in American life. This view was forcefully expressed in the *Report on the Church and Industrial Relations*, approved by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. "The character and ability evident in the conduct by labor unions of their own affairs and in their participation in the affairs of us all is equal, we are persuaded, to the character and ability evident elsewhere. . . . It is our conviction that there is within organized labor relatively as much . . . public-mindedness, competence, and statesmanship as can be found in other social groups."

The character and competence of labor union leadership takes on a new dimension of importance as the labor unions themselves move out into new power in American and international life. But not enough recognition has been given by the churches and the public to what American labor leaders have done to interpret American foreign policy, such as Marshall Plan aid, to the free labor unions in Europe. Similarly, the insights which organized labor contributes to public discussion and policy on such matters as economic stability, housing, and social security are a source of strength in reaching enlightened agreement in a democracy.

On the other hand, the churches are equally aware that "they face also the great question of the end for which organized labor will use its expanding power." (*From the Labor Sunday Message, 1949.*) The use of power grows as an ethical problem when any group gains such power; that this is now a major ethical problem for the labor movement is evidence of labor's new position.

The 1949 Labor Sunday Message poses the problem in such questions as these: Will organized labor give Christian principles, including social responsibility, a first place in its program? Will the men who guide labor's affairs put the public interest above the special interests of the pressure groups they lead? It is recognized that "the religious and ethical values held by the people in the ranks and leadership of labor" will determine "the answers to these questions."

If the churches are to help labor find answers to the problems in its use of power, obviously the churches must find ways to work closely with the leaders and members of labor unions. Here are two suggestions among the many to be considered:

First, there needs to be a reorientation as to the place of labor union members and leaders in church life. Bankers, merchants, teachers, employers, doctors, lawyers, and proprietors are readily found in church activities. But is there an equal readiness to include wage earners and labor unionists in the growing laymen's movements so character-

istic of present-day church life? To what extent are church people who are also labor union leaders and members being enlisted?

Recent studies of Protestant Church membership reveal a larger number from low-income groups and labor unions than most people realize. (*Cameron P. Hall,* What Churches Can Do About Economic Life—Programs and Resources, *pp. 7-9, 11-13. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. 30 cents.*) But against this, three facts need to be noted: (1) The proportion is still below that of the population as a whole, and of the Roman Catholic Church. (2) There are wide disparities within Protestantism, with several large denominations having a small proportion of low-income groups and labor union members in their constituency. (3) Generally speaking, the higher up one goes in the official life of the churches, the smaller the per cent of church members from low-income groups and labor unions. Relatively few churchmen from labor's ranks are represented in the hierarchy of church judicatories, or in church boards and agencies.

This point is stressed, not because it is felt that members of churches who are also members of labor unions should, in that capacity, be given special recognition in the life and work of the church; it is stressed rather to highlight the apparent fact that labor union members and leaders have not gained a place in church life comparable to the place they hold in community and national life. Wherever the responsibility for this may lie, the fact itself is of sufficient importance to warrant real agony of mind and spirit on the part of the churches.

Secondly, the things that make for justice and freedom, for brotherhood and peace need to receive greater consideration within the ongoing program of the local church. A former factory inspector general of Great Britain, himself a great Christian layman, once stated what he feels has been the major source of the power of British labor. It is to be found, not primarily in the reaction of wage earners to working conditions in shops and factories, but in their reaction to the living conditions to which they daily returned when they left their jobs for their homes. The employee saw his children and family suffering from poor housing, wretched recreational facilities, inadequate health services. As a father and husband he felt frustrated. It was these deprivations of his home and family that led him to work and organize politically as well as industrially for a new economic order.

American organized labor is no longer content merely to bargain with management for wages, hours, and working conditions. It has come

to believe that the well-being of a people in a democracy with a capacity for a high standard of living must be sought on a community and national level, and not solely on the industrial level. With this in mind, organized labor today works for social objectives that will benefit not only its own members and their families, but those outside its ranks as well.

By what means are these objectives to be achieved? The churches have little, if any, wisdom to contribute to the technical aspects of these questions. But they do have a fourfold responsibility—first, to make sensitive the consciences of people as to the need for an economic life that will further a more enlightened union of justice and freedom; secondly, to stimulate thoughtful opinion on specific issues in community and nation; thirdly, to provide occasions for study and discussion of the issues, not in the light of partisanship to any particular group or cause, but on the basis of what is good for the community and nation as a whole; and, fourthly, to challenge and help the individual church member to act responsibly in his capacity as a citizen, or in his role as wage earner or employer in industrial life.

What will ultimately count is what the churches do in these matters within the local parish, or cooperatively in the community. Labor union members who are also church members have recognized what interdenominational and denominational boards have done on the national level; but they have placed stronger stress on the fact that the job, at best, is not finished until these objectives become a part of the regular program of the local church. Several long and soul-searching conferences have been held with these churchmen whose thinking and counsel have been sought by the Federal Council of Churches. If the labor movement is here to stay and to grow and to exercise increasing influence on community and nation, then its relationship to the churches will be of supreme importance in the latter half of the century. The effectiveness of this relationship will be largely determined by how the ministry, the official boards, and the membership of local churches (including those members who are themselves in labor unions) speak and act, singly and together.

Note: A second article by Mr. Hall, which will deal with the subject of the church and the employer, will appear in a later issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Program materials and data about the Housing Act of 1949 are available without charge from the Federal Government. Write Miss Flora Y. Hatcher, Director, Group Services, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C., for free copies of bulletins on the four new housing programs—slum clearance and urban redevelopment, rural housing, housing research, and low-rent public housing.

THE WORLD SCENE: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CHURCH AND LABOR

An address by KERMIT EBY, *Associate Professor of the Social Sciences, the University of Chicago, to the National Religion and Labor Foundation, Cincinnati, Ohio, March 29, 1949.*

THERE is no startling revelation in the observation that the world is passing through a period of revolution. There may, however, be something new in the idea that we are living, not through one revolutionary upheaval, but several.

We are so used to thinking of the Russian Communists' revolution that we forget the technological one that emanates from the United States of America. Perhaps this revolution, bred by every American trader, traveler, and G.I., affects the lives of more millions of people than the ideological blasts of the Communists.

Several weeks ago I read a story in the Chicago *Sun-Times* that intrigued me exceedingly. The girls of Morocco, the reporter wrote, could not snap their bubble gum without lifting their veils. Truly, the old order in Morocco gives way to the new—the new, as introduced by some trader or G.I. So, to untold millions the American way of life becomes their hope and envy. The more sophisticated shrink from the mechanization of body and soul which a civilization such as ours induces. The masses, however, awakened by the impact of this mighty industrial revolution, are no longer satisfied to live in degradation and poverty.

President Truman and his advisers were conscious of this restlessness among the underprivileged of the earth. Because of their understanding, a plan for exporting American industrial know-how was evolved, and announced. Unfortunately President Truman ignored a significant part of the problem of the world when he did not mention surplus population and its relation to food supply.

Our revolution is changing the world far beyond our comprehension of its significance. Nor have many of us tried to understand its impact. The basic assumption of our materialistic faith, if I understand it correctly, is: given enough economic security, the world will achieve political stability.

Frankly, this purely materialistic approach to life troubles me. I doubt that man lives purely by bread alone, or even by gadgets; and if he does not, then ours is the responsibility of examining these assump-

tions and determining their adequacy to meet the need of this distraught and troubled world.

Now let us turn briefly to the other source of world revolution, Communist Russia. Little needs to be said about Communist dogma. We have been reminded too often that the contradictions in our capitalist economy will ultimately destroy it and that only the Communists, the true believers, can bring to the peoples of the world economic security, equal treatment of minorities, and peace—after the revolution. What we need to be reminded of, what we sometimes forget, is the Communists' contention that the adoption of their way of life will bring to the underprivileged of the earth the good things they are now denied by the monopoly and scarcity practices of the West. In other words, after the revolution the technology of the West will be the servant of the masses of the world, not their master.

So the Communist appeals to the peoples of the world not only through what he offers in the present but through what he holds forth for the future. His is a potent ideology, particularly since mankind, constructed as it is, lives for the future as much as for the present. Without oversimplification, then, it can be said that our technological revolution lacks a dynamic philosophy and the Communist one—temporarily, at least—lacks the technology necessary to lift the living standards of the peoples of the world.

Our efforts to further European recovery were meant to strengthen economic man in Europe so that he could better resist Communist blandishments. But a strengthened economic man, we later concluded, was not enough; so now we are moving to strengthen military man as well—which invariably means, in an economy of scarcity such as Europe has, the weakening of economic man. We are strong in money and guns, weak in ideology, lacking in a positive program of democratic, economic, and political organization.

It can be said that we have evolved a program of fear, not of confidence. The program is, in a phrase: Stop Communism. In a sentence, it should be: *Advance political and economic democracy*. An affirmative faith must be developed if we would overcome our negative approach to the challenge of the Communists; and this program must be evolved as soon as possible. Unless it is, we will continue to flirt with the Francos abroad and hound the otherwise-minded at home.

Historians never spoke truer words than when they said that victor nations tend to adopt the vices of the vanquished. Did we not fight to destroy militarism in Germany and Japan? And, today, are not Germany and Japan really conquering us?

Perhaps before we can think about these things we must get ourselves in the mood to do so; and before we can do that we must cease confusing action and creation, quit using continuing activity as an opiate to drown our thoughts and get over believing that one more committee meeting or one more conference will save the world. Jesus of Nazareth, we might recall, did not spend all his time in the valleys, pressed by the crowds. A generous portion of it was spent on the mountaintop, deepening his mental and spiritual sensitivities.

Specifically, we must ask ourselves several very hard questions. Among them are:

Can an ideological war be won purely by expanding military might?

Have ideas ever been destroyed by force?

If they have not, what is the alternative to this blind alley into which our militarists have led us?

Would the money spent for guns and tanks—or at least half of it—contribute more to the strengthening of our institutions if spent, say, for education, health, recreation, housing, schools?

Practically, can we continue to spend fifteen to seventeen billion dollars a year for direct military expenditures? Can we go on spending more than sixty-six per cent of our Federal budget on direct and indirect military expenditures, and only about eight per cent for social services?

Are no moral issues involved when a Joe Martin declares that three hundred million dollars for Federal aid to education must wait till military budgets are planned?

Fall Dates to Observe in Your Church

September 2	**Anniversary of V-J Day**
September 4	**Labor Day Sunday**
September 5	**Labor Day**
September 18-24	**New York City welcomes UN delegates arriving for the General Assembly**
September 24 to October 18	**Period of United Nations Study for schools, churches, and community organizations**
October 18-24	**National observance of United Nations Week in U.S.A.**
October 23	**World Order or United Nations Sunday**
October 24	**United Nations Day celebrated around the world**

Editorial materials and program suggestions for the observance of these important occasions may be secured from the Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Have we forgotten that ultimately all political issues resolve themselves into moral issues? Or do we think we can do like the Eighty-first Congress: compromise into eternity?

Frankly, I have a few answers to these questions which satisfy me. Ideological wars cannot be won by military might, nor can democracy be defended by denials.

Today, we are told, there are 3,200,000 unemployed. We know unemployment is concentrated in the textile and soft goods industries, in consumer durables, and is moving into automobiles. We also know that steel and related heavy industry is operating at maximum capacity. Men are at work where defense expenditures stimulate employment, unemployed where the necessities of life are produced.

Economists tell us too that the future may continue such a spotty relationship. Pools of unemployed may be surrounded by the fully employed. Occasionally comfort is extended to the 3,200,000 unemployed by reminding them how grateful they should be that 58,000,000 plus are still working.

Such comfort is hypocrisy. It is the old statistical approach to history and to life. It violates the essence of humanitarianism. Concealed by such a point of view is much the same philosophy that conditions the Communists who confuse ends and means.

Jesus, we might remember, was concerned about the one lamb that strayed from the fold, not about the ninety and nine that were safe (and smugly complacent).

An economy tied to war, dangerous as it is, is not the most serious threat to our free institutions. The ascendancy of the military to the control of foreign policy decisions is even more dangerous. Decisions such as the North Atlantic Defense Pact, which affect the lives of every one of us, are arrived at secretly while Congressional debate is so limited that a national discussion and understanding of the issues is impossible. Attempts are even made to whip the churches into line. And all this is done in the name of the protection of freedom and the extension of democracy.

Also in the name of freedom and democracy, we are stumbling along in the wake of men who argue that collective security is dead, the United Nations a failure, and government by law impossible. Force, they argue, is the only answer. For them I have only one reply. It was given many years ago when Jesus spoke to Peter: "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

If we would live and be true to the faith to which we are committed, we must turn our backs on such blind leaders. We must reaffirm our faith in government by law, in an international organization that implements the law, and in police powers that collectively enforce the law.

AMERICAN LABOR AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

By JOHN F. DUFFY, JR., *Assistant Professor of Social Studies and Director of the Core Course in Modern Social and Economic Principles, Denison University. Formerly Director of the Presbyterian Labor Temple, New York City.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN once remarked that "workingmen are the basis of all governments." This statement was underscored recently by an American businessman, Eric Johnston, who called attention to the fact that the "battle ground for the new world of today is at the worker level." Advocating that trade-union leaders be sent abroad to represent the United States as ambassadors to foreign countries, he pointed out that American labor leadership was more qualified than "old-fashioned" diplomats for this task.

I

In the nineteenth century, the American worker was tied to international events through the leadership of such men as William Sylvis and Samuel Gompers. During the First World War, American labor leaders supported the war effort of the United States. They also were the first trade-unionists to stress the necessity for labor representation at the peace conference. They joined with unionists of other nations, in the Inter-Allied Trades Union Conference of 1916, to make plans for the establishment of an international commission for the protection of the rights of labor. Their efforts resulted in the formation of the International Labor Organization as a part of the League of Nations. Samuel Gompers, then president of the American Federation of Labor, chaired the peace conference committee that pioneered this development. American labor leaders supported American membership in the I.L.O. and the League of Nations. However, American isolationists prevented the United States from joining either the League or the I.L.O. Not until 1934 did the United States of America become a member nation of the I.L.O. Since then, American labor representatives have participated actively in its work.

Between the First and Second World Wars, there was internal conflict in the A.F.L. over participation in international affairs. Samuel Gompers, and his successor, William Green, were able to win out over the isolationists in the A.F.L. Voicing concern over the growth of

totalitarianism, they took action to assist trade-unionists persecuted by the Governments of Italy, Russia, Germany, and Spain.

II

The end of the Second World War found trade-unions without an effective international organization. The International Federation of Trade Unions, organized about 1900, failed to hold the active interest of workers in many countries and was disbanded in 1944. The Russian trade-unions, the British Trades Union Congress, and the C.I.O., spurred on by Allied wartime co-operation, joined to establish the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1945. The A.F.L. refused to join because it held that the Russian trade-unions were under political domination, and that the W.F.T.U. would become a propaganda front for the Soviet Union.

The British Trades Union Congress and the C.I.O. concluded, after three years' experience, that the W.F.T.U. was not representative of the true interests of working people and withdrew from the organization. The A.F.L. and the C.I.O. are now co-operating with the British Trades Union Congress in a new non-Communist international trade-union organization.

However, because of its international character, the W.F.T.U. was given consultative status with the United Nations. In this way, the C.I.O. was tied in to the United Nations. In spite of its independent character, the A.F.L. was also able to achieve consultative status. A most important aspect of this relationship is the successful fight waged by the A.F.L. to get the UN to investigate the problem of slave labor wherever it exists in the world. The C.I.O. and the A.F.L. support the International Bill of Human Rights recently adopted by the United Nations.

American labor leaders have supported reciprocal trade agreements. They have also been active in support of the Marshall Plan. In the spring of 1948, they co-operated with trade-unionists from sixteen Marshall Plan countries in establishing a Trade Union Advisory Committee to help advance the work of the E. C. A. When this committee met in London, July, 1948, the American delegation succeeded in getting European labor leaders to agree to work together in advancing the E.C.A. in their respective countries. America's E.C.A. ambassador-at-large, W. Averell Harriman, told the delegates, "Of all groups, the international labor movement can do most for the European Recovery Program."

The A.F.L. has long been actively supporting trade-unionists in various nations where the labor movement has been persecuted by dictators. Through its Free Trade Union Committee, the A.F.L. sends financial assistance and CARE packages

to needy leaders of free trade-unions abroad. It publishes a monthly journal, *The International Free Trade Union News*, in German, in French, and in English. The A.F.L. also has set up a Committee on International Labor Relations which coordinates its international activities. This Committee is responsible for the sending of full-time A.F.L. representatives to Europe and Asia; maintaining contact with non-Communist trade-union leaders in foreign countries; making possible visits of trade-union delegations from other countries to America. It also speaks officially for the A.F.L. on matters of international importance such as American occupation policy toward trade-unions in Germany and Japan, the support of the North Atlantic Pact, etc. The A.F.L. also has a full-time representative in South America.

The C.I.O. has maintained important contacts with workers in other nations since the end of the war. Because of its withdrawal from the W.F.T.U., it is very likely that the C.I.O.'s Division of International Affairs, through which it was represented in the W.F.T.U., will be enlarged. For a number of years, the C.I.O. has maintained a special Division on Latin American Affairs.

III

American labor leadership has also been active in the work of several Government departments. In 1943, the Department of State inaugurated a program geared to keep it informed about labor developments in other nations. More than twenty labor attachés, many with trade-union backgrounds, are assigned to represent the Department at principal embassies and legations.

In the Vanguard of Christian Labor Relations The first Labor School sponsored by the Human Relations Commission of the Protestant Council, City of New York, was so enthusiastically received that participants voted to continue monthly meetings between the spring and fall terms. The school met for ten training sessions in "How to Run a Union Meeting" and a forum course on the structure of unionism, current labor issues and objectives, and the relation of religion to American labor. The school was held at Labor Temple with Rev. Marshal L. Scott of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations as dean. Present plans call for schools in other sections of Greater New York this fall. . . . The Industrial Relations Committee of the Kansas City Council of Churches promoted a round-table conference of clergy, management and labor leaders at Park College on May 20. The executive secretary of the council reports that splendid co-operation is being received from both management and labor groups in this project. . . . Church women through the Department of Christian Social Relations, United Council of Church Women, have decided to place major program emphasis for the next two years on ethical problems in economic life for women today. A committee on Economic and Industrial Relations, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Paul Gebhard, of Chicago, is already planning an intensive educational program.

The State Department established in 1944 the Division of International Labor and Social Affairs which is the direct contact between the Department and American trade-union organizations concerned with foreign affairs. This division also employs some former trade-unionists. When the American Mission for Aid to Greece was organized in 1947, a labor adviser was provided because one of the problems facing the Mission concerned the labor movement in Greece.

The Department of Labor has a Trade-Union Advisory Committee on International Affairs composed of leaders from the A.F.L., the C.I.O., the Railway Labor Executives Association, and the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and Railroad Trainmen. They advise the Department of "the opinions, needs, and interests of the American labor movement as they are related to international affairs." Items considered by this Committee include E.R.P., the Greek Assistance Program, strengthening democratic elements in German trade-unions, the labor situation in Korea, the labor attaché program, etc. (*From 36th Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, 1948, p. 13.*) The Department of Labor, in 1947, established an Office of International Affairs with a threefold purpose: (1) to formulate policies of the Department on international labor affairs; (2) to co-ordinate and supervise international activities of the Department's bureaus and offices; and (3) to provide primary liaison with Government agencies, Congress, the American labor movement, and the general public on international labor matters. The Office of Foreign Labor Conditions, within the Department of Labor, has among its duties that of co-operating with the Department of State in training foreign-service officers in the field of labor.

The best-known participation of American labor in world affairs consists of the part labor leaders play in the administration of the Economic Co-operation Administration. Paul G. Hoffman, E.C.A. Administrator, set up the Office of Labor Advisors to the E.C.A. with two outstanding American labor leaders in charge. Both Hoffman and Harriman have been outspoken in their appreciation of the work of the labor leaders in E.C.A.

Nearly forty years ago, Dr. Charles Stelzle, founder of the Presbyterian Labor Temple, described the labor movement as "a world movement." (*From* The Church and Labor, *Chapter 3. Houghton Mifflin Company.*) Today, American labor is exercising its rightful responsibility in that movement. American trade-unionists are contributing constructively to the rebirth of the international labor movement and to the practical solution of some of the world's political, economic, and social problems.

An Appe

WILL YOU HELP SAVE A FAMILY?

ONE year of two years allowed by the Act of 1948 for the entrance of D.P.'s into America has passed. Protestant and Eastern Orthodox bodies have in that time provided 5,670 "assurances" releasing so few of the 200,000 D.P.'s provided for in even the unsatisfactory act of last year. Our failure to save more of these families is due in part to faulty organization and promotion. Procedure has now been cleared, and increased responsibility has been placed on the Church denominations. These bodies have this summer assumed quotas and made "blanket assurances" through Church World Service to the Displaced Persons Commission. Our Interboard Committee on Displaced Persons with Dr. Charles T. Leber as chairman has given a "blanket" or block assurance for 2,000 jobs and homes. The Committee had to act by faith—asking time to consult the field in order to meet the dead line of August 1 set by the Commission. By this action the Presbyterian Church was able to hold open the door to this land of opportunity so that many of our Protestant brethren detained in the D.P. camps of Europe may come in.

This blanket assurance must be taken up and made good by specific assurances from local congregations or individuals during the fall and winter. Under the Act of 1948, we must finish the job by June, 1950. The law of love for our neighbor requires even greater promptitude and wider coverage.

"BEAR YE ONE ANOTHER'S BURDENS"

BETWEEN 15,000 and 18,000 of these D.P.'s are children of the Reformed Faith (Presbyterian)—from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. They have been waiting for years in D.P. camps for us, their brethren in America, to find a place for them. They still maintain their churches, pastors, and moderators according to the latest word from Charles Arbothnot.

Questions will be raised concerning the increased burden to our employment and housing problem. The U.S. employed population is over 61,000,000. If we receive the 339,000 provided for in the proposed amendatory legislation for the Act of 1948 of the Celler Bill and the McGrath-Neely Bill approximately 100,000 will be added to our employed population—1 to 610! It is shameful to entertain such questions. Surely no informed Chris-

tian of good conscience will withhold his compassion from these desperately needy families, fearful lest they add to the employment or housing problem of this the richest nation of the world—a nation that with 6 per cent of the world's population has nearly 50 per cent of the world's wealth. We are hardly offering the crumbs from our table.

NEW LIFE FOR WHOM?

THE handling of the D.P. program by the Christian Church will be the clearest test and most convincing testimony that there is new life in our Church. Newness of life is not manifested by the increased weight of members in our churches but by our deeds of love and mercy in the name of Him who will say in judgment, "I was in prison, and ye came unto me." Now again it is time for those of us who teach the gospel of salvation to do something about the good news of love—now we can save entire families.

WHAT MUST WE DO?

WE MUST canvass our church, our neighborhood, for the "assurances" required to bring the Displaced families to America before June, 1950. This should be done promptly—this fall and winter. Assign the responsibility for the D.P. program in your church to some active organization or commission. A properly constituted S.E.A. committee will serve most effectively if given the job to secure:

A. Assurances
   1. Job assurances that will not displace another worker.
   2. Home assurances that will not displace another family.
   3. Assurance of transportation from the port of arrival in the U.S.A.
   4. Assurance that the family will not become a public charge.

B. Assurance blanks, general information, and answers to your questions available from Charles T. Leber, Chairman, Interboard Committee on Displaced Persons, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

C. *Answer for Anne,* a most convincing presentation of the D.P. problem and our responsibility. Available from Church World Service, 214 East 21st Street, New York 10, N. Y.

—Paul Newton Poling.

CHRISTIAN LABOR RELATIONS— NOT IN THE HEADLINES

By JAMES MYERS, *Executive Secretary Emeritus of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and now Membership Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.*

A RAILROAD president with rare Christian insight once declared that no man is either good enough or wise enough himself to make decisions about conditions that vitally affect the lives of his employees, particularly when he is himself the highest paid person in the company. He said he was glad that his employees belonged to regular labor unions through which they expressed their own points of view without fear or favor. This saved him from any unconscious injustice in his decisions, and at the same time developed the intellectual capacity and the sense of responsibility of the workers as they grappled with wider problems of economics and constructive industrial relations.

Christian love must of necessity move on from paternalism to democracy. Paternalism may be defined as that kindliness of spirit whereby employers seek in a fatherly manner to provide good conditions for their employees but to reserve to themselves all important decisions. In the long run, however, paternalism can bless neither him that gives nor him that takes. It constantly tempts the giver to think of himself more highly than he ought to think. And it fails to provide the recipients with those conditions that are conducive to the development of self-respect, self-support, and that growth in personality which is in keeping with the equal status of children of God.

With all their faults, labor unions are the major expression of democracy in modern industrial relations. They give a voice to the common man in determining the conditions under which he lives and works. If we believe in the teachings of Jesus, we cannot escape believing in the general principles of organized labor. To some who rely chiefly upon newspapers for their impressions of unions, this statement may come as a shock. But it is time for Christians to stop relying on newspapers alone for their impressions. For by and large it is considered "news" only when there is trouble. A strike is news. Good union relations seldom make the headlines. One who relies solely on the press

and radio news therefore is inevitably under a completely false impression of the labor movement.

The purpose of this article is to cite illustrations of labor relations which do not make the headlines, but which a Christian will find encouraging evidence that Christianity really works when applied to relations between employers and workers.

Spiritual Laws and Labor Relations

The late Arthur Nash was a deeply religious man and determined to operate his clothing factory "on the Golden Rule." But he finally came to the conclusion that better wages and conditions in his own plant were not enough. He urged his employees to join a national labor union, in order that they too might "think of others" and help through the union to raise standards for all in the industry.

I watched this case with special interest to see what would be the psychological and spiritual reaction of a labor union to this then unusual situation where an employer voluntarily and heartily agreed to his employees' joining a union. It seems to me a fact of high spiritual significance that in the Nash factory there was from the first a spirit of constructive and wholehearted cooperation between the union and the company. A survey by an outside industrial engineer later revealed that the union had actually contributed to the increased efficiency of the factory. Jesus' gospel of good will works in industry as well as in other human relations.

Religion in Labor Management

Even in the practical daily operation of a factory, Jesus' concept of the sacredness of human personality can make a profound difference. A Christian textile manufacturer in Virginia understands this and by a simple act brings the powerful forces of religion to play. Before he makes a change in processes of operation, he calls into the office the union's own elected committee. He explains the proposed change to these democratically chosen representatives of the workers, and asks for any suggestions. Often he gets valuable ideas and advice. In any case he gets intelligent co-operation from the committee and the workers to whom they report. The employer accords to his workers a new dignity, and an opportunity to share in the creative side of business enterprise. As always happens when we take Jesus seriously, constructive results follow.

Good and Bad

Some years ago I visited an industrial city in Indiana. There were two large manufacturing concerns in town, both of which had contracts with the same international union. In one company I found harmonious labor relations carried on in a co-

operative spirit. There had never been a strike in the plant. The union spoke highly of management.

In the other company, although it dealt with the same union, all was suspicion and hostility. The personnel director showed me the conference room where all meetings with union representatives were held. The management had installed devices at each place at the table so that every spoken word was recorded. No informal, friendly give-and-take atmosphere was possible under such conditions; and strike after strike has followed.

As I write this article several years later, the newspapers report that the second company is again in the throes of a long and bitter strike. But the first company, which gets along fine with the same union, is not mentioned in the news.

Out of the Red

The employees of a small grocery co-operative were organized recently by a union with the management's cordial consent. The union analyzed the situation and recommended a staff of three clerks instead of four. The higher union wage scale at the same time removed the temptation of the workers to engage in petty larceny. The result has been that in the last quarter, with no increased volume of business, there was a net profit over against a continuous record of loss for the last few years.

Of course labor unions have serious weaknesses and faults as do other organizations, including employers' associations. I have discussed these problems elsewhere. But the undoubted complexity of labor relationships in no way invalidates my contention that Christian industrial relations are possible. The cases cited here are not isolated examples. They could be multiplied indefinitely. They but serve to prove that religion works in industrial as well as in other human relations.

Character, Responsibility, and Ownership

Labor is sometimes criticized as not exhibiting a sense of responsibility. It cannot be too clearly pointed out that there is only one sure way to develop responsible people, and that is to give them something to be responsible for.

While the degree of responsibility of persons in any given class or age varies with their moral character, it is also true that the sense of responsibility of an entire class varies in direct proportion to its economic and political status. Labor union men and women grow in a sense of responsibility as they participate democratically in solving the problems of modern industry. Democracy—both political and industrial—is the only moral form of government. It alone throws responsibility for participation in decisions upon the people and thereby causes them to grow intellectually and morally.

I once sat behind the counter in a small co-operative store in the coal fields and listened in on a board meeting. These coal miners, some of whom were looked on by their employers as "unreasonable radicals," dealt with business problems as intelligently and realistically as any group of good businessmen. Among other matters they discussed an employee who had been doing unsatisfactory work and evidently was not trying to do better. They agreed to give him a month's warning and to help him all they could, but to let him go if he did not improve and replace him with an efficient worker. There is only one sure way to develop a responsible and reasonably conservative working class and that is to allow them to own something that is worth conserving.

A just and stable society which will be proof against discontent and violent revolution can be looked for only as workers and farmers acquire ownership. Unfortunately the trend in America has been in exactly the opposite direction with a reduction in small businesses; with farmers losing ownership of the land; and industrial workers having no effective share in the ownership of industry. We need no further explanation for any relative lack of responsibility on the part of the masses. Only the development of widespread democratic ownership—private, co-operative, and public—will supply economic conditions conducive to character development.

The Personal Equation

I wonder if it might not be helpful for each one of us to look more humbly within himself as "the first move" in the solution of industrial relations? First, what is our attitude toward social progress? Have we studied the life and teachings of Jesus and then sought honestly to apply them to modern economic relations?

Secondly, what is our personal attitude toward people who belong to economic groups other than our own? There is profound spiritual truth in the story of a New Englander who migrated to the Middle West. Before buying a place and settling down, he inquired of the owner of the next farm, "What are the neighbors like out here?" To the counterquery, "What were your neighbors like back East?" he replied, "They were the finest kind of folks." Thereupon the Middle Westerner replied, "You will find the neighbors the finest kind of folks out here too." Within ourselves we can find the master key to Christian industrial relations.

Editor's Note: Fuller discussion of the subject of Christian labor relations and of the principles, policies, and practices of labor unions will be found in *Do You Know Labor?* by James Myers, The John Day Company, 1945.

THE PRESBYTERIAN INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

With the drawing to a close on July 28 of the West Coast Extension term at San Anselmo, California, the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations completed the first five years of a unique training program.

The Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations was established late in 1944 by the Board of National Missions to give in-service training to ministers and mission workers who would be working with labor groups in urban and industrial communities. Through the Institute the Presbyterian Church has taken the lead in (1) building churches in industrial communities and (2) relating modern urban-industrial life to Christianity. Father of the idea was Dr. Jacob A. Long who was at that time Secretary of the Unit of City and Industrial Work of the National Board of Missions.

In the first five years, twenty-nine seminar groups were conducted for 427 students from every section of the country and almost every state of the union. Some of the early study groups were small. Two of the terms were held at McCormick Seminary in Chicago, four have been held at San Francisco Theological Seminary in San Anselmo, and the others have been held at Labor Temple, the local center of the Institute in New York.

Most of the students have been Presbyterian ministers. There have been a few women workers, several ministers from other denominations, and two Presbyterian elders.

The course consists of a four-week seminar, including visits to factories and discussions with industrialists of various levels, visits to union halls and discussion with unionists and labor leaders. A stiff course of study is followed, and the seminars are limited to fifteen to twenty students, who give full time to study. Visiting experts help seminar groups to understand the modern industrial community and the life of workers in it, and to plan a new program for the Church to meet the needs of urban and industrial people.

The fall program of the Institute will be given to consolidating the movement among Institute alumni in various cities. Rev. Marshal L. Scott is dean of the Institute and conducts all the seminar groups and the Labor Temple local program.

KENTUCKY U TO PERMIT NEGRO-WHITE CLASSES

Negroes will be permitted to attend classes with white students at the University of Kentucky, according to an Associated Press dispatch of June 17. The decision was announced by Dr. H. L. Donovan, university president. The step is being taken, he said, to comply fully with a Federal Court mandate.

Dr. Donovan said the school had decided the order prevailed over the Day Law, which provides that whites and Negroes cannot go to the same school in Kentucky.

He said all students will be advised to meet "this new situation as intelligent adults." The school's purpose will be to maintain the maximum of segregation with equality of educational opportunity, according to Dr. Donovan.

SERVICE PROJECT AT PHILADELPHIA STATE HOSPITAL

Officials of Philadelphia State Hospital were enthusiastic about the new Institutional Service Unit project in which a group of college-age young people worked as ward attendants at the hospital this summer, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. The group was made up of premed students, young people planning to enter social work, college pyschology majors, and trainees for Church vocations. The project helped these young people in understanding the treatment as well as the prevention of mental illness.

VETO FOR VIOLENCE

A substantial and convincing victory for human rights occurred on May 2 in Atlanta, Georgia, where the city council passed an ordinance, originally sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, which is aimed at the Ku Klux Klan and forbids masks to be worn on the city's streets.

When, earlier in the year, the Junior Chamber publicly advocated passage of the ordinance, members of the council received a barrage of letters and telephone calls, favorable to the measure. The Executive Committee of Atlanta's Civitan Club endorsed it, as did the Atlanta Council of Christian Women, and the Fulton County Grand Jurors' Association. It was apparent that the antimask ordinance, which the Jaycees had the wisdom and courage to sponsor, was widely supported by Atlanta's patriotic citizens.

Councilman Archie Lindsey, who introduced the measure before the council's entire membership and a packed gallery, made a preliminary statement. "We had a demonstration last night," he said. "A symbol labeled Ku Klux Klan was placed at my home, and it was done under cover. I have had anonymous telephone calls that threatened me and my family. I am just taking a stand in behalf of public decency. We were told there was no need for an antimask ordinance, but I learned differently." The roll was called; the vote announced—17 to 0 in favor of the ordinance. Seventeen votes for Americanism and decency. An outburst of applause came from the crowded visitors' section.

The Atlanta *Constitution* was jubilant. "The City of Atlanta has done a good deed," it declared the next day. "The ordinance is aimed at the Klan, but also at any other organization that tries to mask its face and commit violence under the cover of a mask. The Klan is a civic and moral cancer. It brings sorrow everywhere it exists. It corrupts police forces, sheriffs' offices, and some courts. It also corrupts individuals. It is not without reason that the United States has declared it to be a subversive organization.

Equally enthusiastic was *The Atlanta Journal*, which said editorially: "City Council has done honor to itself and to the community . . . and thus proclaims to the world that the City of Atlanta condemns and is determined to abolish a practice that lends itself to brutal intents and criminal deeds. The Ku Klux Klan, if its hands were clean and its motives in accord with true Americanism, would welcome such an ordinance for its own protection. It would voluntarily abandon, for all times and all

places, those disguises which proverbially belong to gangsters and thugs. Men who hide behind a mask and work in darkness are a peril to law and order, to the public welfare, and to individual security and freedom."

UNIVERSITIES PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING AMONG ECONOMIC GROUPS

One of the most heartening developments of our time is the shift in emphasis from conflict to peace in the analysis of industrial relationships.

Contributing to this trend are the industrial relations institutes and centers in major universities and colleges. With a few notable exceptions these agencies have been organized during the past decade as a result of widespread recognition of labor-management relations as America's number one internal economic problem.

These centers have particular significance for churchmen interested in industrial problems because most of them provide for the general public in their programs. At conferences, extensions school classes, and forum discussions, managers, workers, and citizens exchange viewpoints, compare theory and practice in everyday operations, and study the results of basic research in both human and economic factors of industrial relationships.

Several of these groups, for example, the Wisconsin School for Workers, the University of California Institute, the New York State School at Cornell, and the Rutgers and Wayne University Institutes, have developed programs of particular interest to clergymen and church groups. The importance of ethical aspects in industrial relationships is being increasingly recognized.

The number and location of the institutions that have these programs make it possible for interested churchmen in practically every area to be in touch with one or more centers. We heartily recommend that, if you have not already done so, you write or visit one of these centers for information regarding facilities available to church people or the general public:

California, University of. Institute of Industrial Relations, Los Angeles 24. Edgar L. Warren, director.

Chicago, University of. Industrial Relations Center, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37. Frederick Harbison, executive officer. *Participating in Summer School for Ministers.*

Connecticut, University of. Labor-Management Institute, Storrs, Connecticut. Myron H. Clark, director.

Cornell University, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Ithaca. M. P. Catherwood, dean. *Co-operates with institutes for church groups.*

Denver, University of. College of Business Administration, Bureau of Industrial Relations, 211 15th Street, Denver 2. T. H. Cutler, director.

Illinois, University of. Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Urbana, Illinois. Phillips Bradley, director. *Co-operates with public groups in arranging conferences. Books and other library materials sent anywhere in state.*

Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Industrial Relations Section, Department of Economics and Social Science, Cambridge. Dr. Charles A. Myers, executive director.

Michigan, University of. Bureau of Industrial Relations, Ann Arbor, Michigan. John W. Riegel, director. *Sponsors conferences on many phases of industrial relations, and co-operates with church groups.*

Minnesota, University of. Industrial Relations Center, Minneapolis 14. Dale

Yoder, director. *Works directly with church groups.*

North Carolina, University of. Institute of Industrial Relations, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Northeastern University. Labor Relations Institute, Boston 15, Massachusetts. Albert E. Everett, director.

Ohio State University. Personnel Research Board, Columbus, Ohio. C. L. Shartle, executive secretary.

Princeton University. Industrial Relations Section, Princeton, New Jersey. J. Douglas Brown, director.

Roosevelt College. Division of Labor Education, 231 South Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois. Frank McCallister, director. *Conducts institutes and other services in labor education.*

Rutgers University. Institute of Management and Labor Relations, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Norman C. Miller, director. *Special program for public includes cooperation with church groups.*

Stanford University. Division of Industrial Relations, Graduate School of Business, Stanford, California. John P. Troxell, director.

Syracuse University. Business and Economic Research Center, Syracuse, New York. Sidney Sufrin, director.

Washington, University of. Institute of Labor Economics, Seattle 5. William S. Hopkins, director.

Wayne University. Institute of Industrial Relations, Detroit 1, Michigan. Edward L. Cushman, director. *Active program with church groups.*

Wisconsin, University of. Wisconsin School for Workers. E. E. Schwartztrauber, director. *Conducts an annual Industrial Relations Institute for Church Leaders (2 weeks) in connection with summer program;* also Industrial Relations Center, Madison 6. R. W. Fleming, director.

Yale University. Labor and Management Center, New Haven. E. Wright Bakke, director.

CITIZENSHIP

APPROPRIATIONS FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE PROGRAMS

The annual appropriations voted by Congress largely determine the activities of the Federal Government. Some of these funds are available through grants to states and in turn to local communities. Others are used to develop educational activities available to local communities also through the appropriate state agencies.

U.S. Public Health Service

Mental Health Activities. Congress appropriated $11,612,000 to enable the Public Health Service to continue to carry on a broad mental health program which is directed at these three principal needs:

1. Research to discover new and improved methods for both prevention and treatment.

2. Community services for more widespread application of existing knowledge.

3. Training of more mental health personnel to carry on research, treatment, and training.

Assistance to States for General Public Health Work. In addition to the appropriations for special categories such as venereal diseases, tuberculosis, cancer, and so forth, the Public Health Service has this general appropriation item. Its general purpose is for the over-all development of local health services and the development of services within the states.

Congress appropriated $16,600,000 for grants to the states for general public health work, as compared with $11,214,000 available for the previous fiscal year.

Surgeon General Scheele has stated that, according to information provided by the state health officers, of the 1,675 counties having little or no organized local health services, 427 would organize full county and local health services immediately if Federal funds became available. Also, that 1,231 of the counties already organized would strengthen their health services. This appropriation is not considered sufficient to meet this entire need.

Hospital Construction Program. The hospital construction program is designed to assist the states in the construction of needed hospitals, public health centers, and other health facilities. Congress has authorized the Public Health Service to approve construction projects through the end of this fiscal year up to a total of $225,000,000. This amount covers the past two fiscal years and the current one. Also, a cash appropriation of $15,000,000 was voted for cash grants to cover one third of the actual costs of construction estimated to be completed by the end of this fiscal year.

In addition, the Public Health Service was voted an appropriation of $1,200,000 for its administrative expenses in connection with this program. This will enable the service to continue to furnish technical assistance in the planning and construction of hospital and other health facilities.

National Institutes of Health. The National Institutes of Health is the medical and scientific research bureau of the Public Health Service. It conducts research in such fields as spotted fever, typhus vaccine, rabies vaccine, the common cold, amoebic dysentery, undulant fever, peptic ulcers, and nutrition. In addition, the Institutes have programs of fellowships (about 400 fellows) and grants-in-aid for general medical research in universities, hospitals, and other public and private institutions.

Congress appropriated $12,075,000 for this work as well as $1,925,000 in contract authority to permit forward financing of research grant projects. This appropriation includes $200,000 for expanded research in gastroenterology and coordinated with research on carcinoma of the stomach under the National Cancer Institute.

National Cancer Institute. The program of the Public Health Service in the field of cancer includes cancer research by the National Cancer Institute; grants-in-aid to other institutions and to individuals for cancer research; the training of research workers; loans of radium to hospitals; cancer education; and assistance to state agencies in the prevention, control, and eradication of cancer.

Expansion of this program was approved by Congress with the appropriation of $18,900,000. In addition, provision is made for $6,000,000 contractual authority for the forward financing of research grants, teaching grants, and construction grants.

National Heart Institute. Congress approved a substantial expansion of the program under the National Heart Act enacted by Congress last year. As compared with less than $3,000,000 available during the fiscal year just ended, Congress has appropriated $10,725,000 for heart research and control plus $5,350,000 contractual authority for the forward financing of construction, research, and training grants. The appropriation for heart research and control is largely for grants to the states and nonprofit institutions for research grants, fellowships, teaching grants, traineeships, as well as community programs for heart disease control.

Dental Health Activities. Congress appropriated $1,780,000 to permit the program of dental research and control to move forward at a slightly higher level than for the previous fiscal year. In addition, $100,000 was appropriated for the preparation of plans for the construction of special facilities to house the National Institute of Dental Research.

U. S. Office of Education

The U. S. Office of Education was established for the purpose "of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education . . . and of diffusing such information . . . as shall aid the people . . . and otherwise promote the cause of education." In line with this original mandate, the Office has continued to emphasize its fundamental program of providing consultative advice and information to assist the states and local communities in the maintenance and development of their educational programs.

Vocational Education. The George-Barden Vocational Education Act authorizes Congress to appropriate up to $29,301,740 a year for grants to the states for the further development of vocational education. The Senate had voted to appropriate this full amount to permit "the expansion of the program in over 6,000 schools, as well as the development of the program in over 4,000 other schools." The final appropriation approved by Congress is $9,842,760—the same amount available for the previous fiscal year.

U. S. Children's Bureau

The Children's Bureau operates under two directives. The first, to investigate and report "upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people," was contained in the 1912 act creating the bureau. The second, to "extend and improve" services for promoting the health and welfare of children, especially in rural areas and in areas of special need, was provided in the Social Security Act.

Grant Programs. Congress appropriated the full amounts of the annual authorizations for grants to the states: maternal and child health services, $11,000,000; services for crippled children, $7,500,000; child welfare services, $3,500,000.

Other Appropriation Items. Congress appropriated $1,466,000 for both the research and reporting activities and the expenses for administering the three grants-in-aid programs. This permits no expansion in the activities of the Children's Bureau. Congress denied the request of the Children's Bureau for $45,864 to undertake a five-year program of research into the factors and practices in child-rearing with special emphasis on early infancy.

Office of Vocational Rehabilitation

Congress appropriated $20,500,000 for grants to the states for the rehabilitation of persons of employable age having physical or mental handicaps which impair ability to find or hold a regular job. This represents an increase of $2,500,000 over the appropriation for the previous fiscal year. This will make possible a further expansion of this program so that 74,000 people may be rehabilitated during this fiscal year as compared with 65,000 during the previous one. Approximately 200,000 persons are on state rolls, waiting determination of eligibility or the start of rehabilitation.

School Lunch Program

Congress has appropriated $83,500,000 for the school lunch program for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1949. This is $8,500,000 more than the previous appropriation. It has been pointed out that this increased appropriation will permit expansion of the school lunch program for the following reasons:

1. With food prices coming down, the $83,500,000 appropriation will purchase approximately 25 per cent more food than the previous appropriation of $75,000,000 would have purchased.

2. In addition, the Department of Agriculture will have a larger portion of its price-support funds ($125,000,000) available for the direct purchase of surplus foods for donation to schools.

—*From* Social Legislation Information Service, *Issue No. 28, July 5, 1949.*

Sanctuary

Call to Worship:

"Our Father, who hast committed to us men the swift and solemn trust to turn this tiny planet into a province of the Kingdom of God, kindle in us again the revolutionary spirit of love for thee and for our brethren. Push back the frontier of our affection and concern until it encompasses the world and all its peoples. By whatever means thou judgest best, force us to recognize our common humanity and our common destiny, our responsibility as brethren one for the other irrespective of differences in race or class. In the tragedy of our generation thou hast been teaching us again that we are members one of another, so that if one member suffers all the members suffer with it. May we see all our problems in the light of thy concern for every man and thy will for the good of all. So may we redeem the stagnation of the masses of the world and move swiftly in the direction of the City of God on earth. Amen."—*Bishop William Scarlett.*

Hymn: "When Wilt Thou Save the People? O God of Mercy, When?"

Meditation:

Love Is the Way from Death to Life. As the beloved disciple said: "We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren. . . . Let us not love in word or speech but in deed and in truth. . . . Love is of God, and he who loves is born of God and knows God."

Dr. William Hocking makes a corollary statement in *The Meaning of God in Human Experience,* when he says, "Some men find their way to God through man, and some men find their way to man through God; but no man is complete until he finds his way to both God and man."

Jesus' test of the fitness of men for his Father's Kingdom was social. He coupled the command to love God to loving one's neighbor as oneself. In his parable on the Last Judgment those excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven were those *not* concerned for their fellow men. He taught his disciples to pray, "Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." Thus he linked religious faith with ethical practice.

The Brotherhood of Labor. Labor unions were founded in concern for working men and women—not only for the individual's safety and livelihood, but for the welfare of his family and fellow workers.

Early in their history unions sought social objectives through legislation. They pioneered for free public schools, for protection of children, for shorter hours of work and safer conditions. Then and now union people have sought to make a better society, not only for themselves, but for all people.

The Churches and Labor Unions. Decades ago the churches recognized and endorsed the necessity for workers to join together in dealing with their employers, as their protection against exploitation. Today the churches go much farther and see the

social and economic value of labor unions the world over. Witness this statement by the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace: "The standard of living of men anywhere is a concern of men everywhere. . . . The International Labor Organization and the organized labor movement are . . . to be recognized as having an important role in raising the standards of living of the people of the world." But the churches need to be still more intent on seeing religion as a great, moving force in creating a just and righteous economic and social order.

All too often the church is far more heavily influenced by industry's representatives than by labor's. Rarely are union men found serving on church boards and committees, or their wives drawn into the women's church activities.

Surely, the Church and labor need each other and there is great opportunity for leaders in the churches to utilize union people in congregational life. Labor needs vital and challenging religious leadership, and the Church needs labor's practical experience in striving to make a better society.

Prayer:

O God who art Love, O God who art Justice, O God who art Pity,
Have mercy upon us.

That we call thee "our Father," but deny thee in our divisions of race and class, and so offend against the law of human brotherhood:
Forgive our pretense and hypocrisy, our Father, and make clean our hearts within us;

For the sheer human greed which grasps at greater profits while prices of necessities soar beyond the reach of multitudes:
Good Lord, penalize us as thou must until we take the path to greater mutual consideration and concern;

For the failure to control the national economy in the interest of the general welfare, which is the very essence of democratic futility:
Renew a right spirit within us, O God, and compel us to mend our ways;

Save us, we pray, from ever again losing such control of our economic system that multitudes of men, through no fault of their own, suffer the greatest shock which human nature can receive, the shock of being useless, workless, unemployed:
We beseech thee to hear us, O Lord;

That we now face ruin unless we change our ways; that we live in a world where to save ourselves we must also save others; that the selfishness of isolation has been made ridiculous by events; that this great and powerful nation must lead the way toward a better world for all people if we ourselves would live:
We praise thee, O God. Amen.

—*Bishop William Scarlett.*

Closing Words:

"O God, who hast bound us together in this bundle of life, give us the grace to understand how our lives depend upon the courage, the industry, the honesty, and the integrity of our fellow men, that we may be mindful of their needs, grateful for their faithfulness, and faithful in our responsibilities to them. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."—*Reinhold Niebuhr.*

—*Prepared by Lucy Randolph Mason, C.I.O. Southern Public Relations Representative.*

NATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE ON THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC LIFE

February 16-19, 1950, Detroit, Michigan.

The Call

Economic progress and economic justice are of immediate concern to the well-being of every home here and in every country throughout the world. The struggle over how economic life should be organized threatens unity within nations and peace among nations. Such is the interdependent character of today's economic life that no economic group and no people can live apart from the way those in other groups and countries live.

Unresolved issues and unrelieved tensions anywhere in economic life can have far-reaching consequences everywhere. The answers and solutions are only partly technical: they are profoundly moral and religious as well. On community, national, and international levels economic life requires the resources of Christian faith, moral purpose, social vision, and thoughtful understanding. Such is the responsibility—and opportunity—of Christian men and women in their daily activities as producers, consumers, and citizens.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America convened in 1947 a National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, whose appointed delegates were leaders in the Church and the economic life of the nation. This conference affirmed that the churches have a responsibility for economic life. It led to wide study and activity by denominations, councils of churches, and local churches in their relations to economic life.

Of growing importance in this total effort is the responsibility of Christians toward broad but specific areas in our economic life. What motives will best assure the fullest use for the public welfare of our expanding capacity to produce goods and services? What economic policies should the United States follow in keeping with its responsibility to its own and the world economy? What should be the program of the churches in training their members to deal as Christians with these areas in economic life?

To consider the economic problems of these times, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is convening a second National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, to be held February 16-19, 1950, in Detroit, Michigan. The four hundred delegates, to be appointed by the denominations and other religious bodies, will be predominantly lay people drawn from the ranks of agriculture, business, labor, the professions, and the general lay public.

Those present will have the opportunity to help the churches contribute insight and direction in respect to economic issues and tensions that have vast social and moral implications.

Bishop John S. Stamm, president, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

About Books

Partners in Production: A Basis for Labor-Management Understanding. Twentieth Century Fund. $1.50.

An impartial committee of economists, employers, A.F.L. and C.I.O. officials, and former Government administrators took a frank, appraising look at what labor and management are striving for, and reported what they observed.

Points of difference and disagreement as well as common goals and areas of agreement are recorded. A strong case is made for mutual understanding of these goals and a mature acceptance of the roles each must play in our nation's economy.

The four fundamental goals of labor are:

1. A sense of security, both on the job and in the community.

2. An opportunity to advance, a fair chance for promotion and general betterment.

3. More human treatment, including being consulted about things that vitally affect labor's welfare.

4. A sense of dignity on the job, a feeling of doing useful, constructive work.

The Committee cites studies from leading authorities in formulating these goals and goes on to state the four fundamental goals of management:

1. Good business for the company, and its general economic health.

2. Good relations with its own employees, to gain their loyalty and keep them satisfied with working conditions.

3. Freedom to manage, without interference from unions or employees.

4. Businesslike relationships and more responsibility on the part of employees and unions, so that contracts and agreements will be carried out.

In charting the goals of labor, the Fund's Committee notes that wage rates are an important factor. The Committee, however, stresses the importance of other factors as well as wages and finds that in some cases these other factors may actually be more important than the wage rates.

On the worker's basic feeling of security or insecurity, outside the plant as well as in it, the Committee says: "Management is becoming increasingly aware that the worker's sense of insecurity does not derive solely from the more obvious threats to job tenure but has other causes, such as social disorganization in the plant and in the community. . . . Progressive employers, for instance, have abandoned the old idea that the company's interest always lies in keeping down the tax rate. They have learned that secure citizens outside the plant make more stable employees and they are willing to pay higher taxes in order to get a good public school system."

Of management's attitude toward labor's goal of a chance to advance, the Committee points out that "management feels frustrated in its attempt to harness the personal ambitions of workers to production. The top ranks of industry . . . find it difficult to understand either the disrepute in which the self-made hero is currently held in working circles or why the employees, through their unions, will voluntarily set up seniority barriers that block their own chances to get ahead."

On labor's desire for more human treatment, the Fund's Committee observes that "management agrees with labor that far more emphasis should be placed on the worker's human problems on the job. . . . Though management is making progress on this score, it is inclined to think that

labor fails to appreciate the size of the task, which is to devise ways of giving as warm, individualized treatment to thousands of employees as the oldtime boss used to be able to hand out to his ten or twenty helpers."

Turning to the other side to examine labor's attitudes on the goals of management, the Twentieth Century Fund's Committee finds that labor has no real quarrel with the primary goal of the economic welfare of the company. "Labor is just as interested as management in a prosperous business community, the source of the jobs, and incomes of its members. When labor espouses high wages in order to increase purchasing power, it does so for the sake of the same prosperity that employers are after when they champion high profits to keep the economy dynamic and expanding."

The report records labor's answers to management's charge that it is unbusinesslike and irresponsible by stating: "(1) Maturity brings responsibility and many unions are still young; and (2) labor unions are political institutions and employers should face this reality and make allowances for it." Maturity, labor says, takes time and a co-operative, understanding management. Unions believe that management usually has only itself to blame for an irresponsible union, that it gets just about the type of union official it deserves. Many employers agree.

Discrimination and National Welfare. Edited by R. M. MacIver. Published by Institute for Religious and Social Studies. Distributed by Harper & Brothers. $2.00.

This is a book that is faithful to its title. Although eleven different authorities are responsible for its eleven chapters, each one provides significant data on this deep-rooted American problem. The book makes a well-knit whole even though it does not pretend to conclude with a soul-stirring climax or a passionate call to arms to those whom it terms "militant ethnic liberals." It is a reasoned, reasonable, and readable contribution to a vital subject.

These lectures were given during the winter of 1947-1948 at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City as part of a course on "The Costs of Discrimination to the United States," sponsored by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, a graduate school conducted with the co-operation of Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant scholars. Prof. R. M. MacIver, of Columbia University, who moderated the lecture series, has edited this volume very ably.

Almost every lecture is a forceful reminder of the marked discrepancy between the American creed "with liberty and justice for all" and our actual practice. Even those of us who profess to hold Christian principles have become too well "adjusted" to the knowledge that there is discrimination against approximately fifteen million Americans—mainly Negroes. So we may be shocked when Prof. MacIver states that in the United States some forty million people suffer from some serious discrimination. That is an alarming figure and indicates that discrimination is a forest fire that crops out in unexpected places.

This volume specifically lists the laws and states which separate human beings in surprising ways—not only in schools and hospitals and prisons but in polling places and trains and even telephone booths. Among the interesting exceptions to these regulations of segregation in transportation, as noted by Dr. Ira Reid, is the fact that in eight states they do not apply if Negroes and whites travel in freight cars and cabooses, and in thirteen states

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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they do not apply if the person of color is traveling as a nurse or servant of a white person!

These lectures take no rosy view as to discrimination becoming unpopular merely because it is economically expensive. It has been expensive for years, but the prejudiced have preferred to pay the cost and keep their prejudices in addition to the spiritual price that is paid. Elmo Roper suggests how we could save enough to meet our overseas aid programs by eliminating the inefficient waste of potential wealth caused by our failure to develop our human resources.

Robert Weaver contributes valuable data on the effect of segregation on housing and stresses what bad housing does to people. Theodore Brameld gives startling statistics on the ten million functional illiterates in our nation. He evaluates the educational costs of segregation and suggests six positive steps.

Milton Konvitz's chapter on "Discrimination and the Law" struck me as the most penetrating discussion in this book. He indicates something of the hypocrisy and double talk involved in many court decisions where discrimination has been countenanced on various technical grounds.

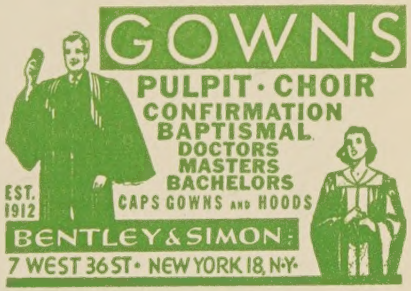
Herbert R. Northrup examines discrimination in regard to the trade-unions and finds real progress in some areas. He lists those unions which still discriminate, mainly in the railway industry.

John La Farge, S. J., gives all too short a discussion on "How the Churches Suffer" in failing to feel their full responsibility as keepers of the community's conscience.

Roger N. Baldwin gives an excellent analysis of the effect of discrimination on our standing in the Orient, and Adolf A. Berle, Jr., comments on its effects upon our good-neighbor policy.

In the closing chapter, Robert K. Merton applies sociological principles to the problem. He insists that social therapies must be sought and his ideas and graphic paradigms should be given careful study by those of us who are serious about "doing something."

—Thomas John Carlisle.



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